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'CRISIS' FABRICATED BY THE WEST

The Berlin 'crisis' presents no issue warranting a war

By David Wesley
Special to the Guardian

PRESIDENT CHARLES DE GAULLE told the French nation last week "there is no chance" that the Soviet bid for a German peace treaty ending the Berlin occupation statutes "will be accepted." In notes presented to Moscow on July 17 the U.S., Britain and France categorically rejected the Soviet proposals on Berlin and Germany, and did not suggest negotiations.

If there is "no chance" that the West will sign a new agreement on Germany, then the tensions in Central Europe, the source and chief battleground of most of man's previous major conflicts, will once again become extreme. If these tensions were to touch off a war, as they have in the past—this time very likely a war wiping out civilization—what critical disagreements would have led to this inconceivable holocaust?

The answer to that question is: None. The simple, awesome truth about "the Berlin crisis" is that there is really nothing of substance at issue between East and West.

To grasp this fact it is necessary first of all to know just what it is the Soviet Union seeks in urging the writing of the long-delayed German peace treaty. And it is the almost total blackout or falsification of this information in Western capitals and the press (just as in the case of the disarmament issue) that has made it possible to fabricate a conflict where one does not really exist.

THE ESSENTIALS: Khrushchev in three recent disquisitions on the Soviet position—in a memorandum given President Kennedy at Vienna, in his "fireside chat" to the Soviet public on the Vienna meeting, and in a speech on the 20th anniversary of the Hitler attack on Russia—has made plainly intelligible what the Soviet bloc "deems necessary" in meeting the German problem: It is these three things:

- Placing "a seal" on the Potsdam-agreed German borders, especially the Oder-Neisse boundary with Poland.
- De facto recognition of the German Democratic Republic.
- Replacement of the occupation statutes with new "guarantees for the freedom and independence" of West Berlin.

The U.S., Britain and France do not actually oppose any of these Soviet-bloc objectives. All three powers have on various occasions indicated that they regard the Potsdam borders as fixed. De Gaulle has warned the Germans, for example, that they "must not question the present frontiers in the west, east, north and south."

Not so, however, West Germany. It is, indeed, the constant agitation by the politically powerful expellee groups in the Federal Republic for revision of the postwar frontiers, and repeated promises made to these groups by government officials, including Chancellor Adenauer, that have scared the Soviet bloc into insisting on a German peace treaty securing the borders. (The expellees are thousands of Germans expelled from former German areas in Eastern Europe.)

MANY DEALINGS: As for de facto recognition of East Germany, Khrushchev is simply asking that the West carry on all its Berlin dealings with the East German government, in the heart of whose territory Berlin lies. In a myriad of such dealings already existing, the Western states, and in particular West Germany, have, in fact, long since given this recognition (more than 12% of East Germany's imports come from West Berlin and the Federal Republic).

Finally, the position taken by the Allies on the U.S., British and French occupation forces in West Berlin has been nothing more than to hoot and holler about their "obligations" to the "free people" of the sector. No such "obligations," it happens, are mentioned in any of the postwar agreements on Germany and Berlin. It is agreed only that the occupying powers shall have free access to West Berlin for supplying and provisioning their troops there.

But, even so, assumption of these "obligations" does not oblige the West to oppose ending the occupation statutes. What the West actually opposes is removal of the Western presence in Berlin—or more accurately, it insists on safeguards against West Berlin's falling to the Communists. But Khrushchev has repeatedly assured the West that no such "threat" exists. "A peace treaty will create all necessary conditions for ensuring the liberty of the free city of West Berlin asd its unhampered ties with the outside world," is the way he put it in his fireside chat. Specifically, he has suggested guaranteeing the city's wide independence by means of troops of the occupying powers, neutral-nation forces, a U.N. authority "or any other measures" agreed upon.

A guarantee of West Berlin independence is not a condition the West rejects. Khrushchev merely insists that the city be "normalized," "neutralized," "demilitarized"—and under existing circumstances none of these situations holds. He wants to write a new guarantee of West Berlin neutrality because the city, in his words, "is now a place where Bonn's revenge-seeking elements constantly maintain extreme tension and stage all kinds of provocations very dangerous to the cause of peace."

BONN'S ROLE: This gets to the heart of the matter. For the truth is that the real "threat" to the "status" of West Berlin comes not from Moscow but from Bonn. On June 12 Adenauer flew to Berlin, closeted himself with the city officials, and emerged with a five-point policy on the city's "status." The first point read: "Berlin's incorporation into the legal, economic and financial system of the Federal Republic is a basic pillar for the city's free existence."

Nothing like this was contemplated in the four-power agreements on Berlin. The British historian Geoffrey Barraclough wrote in the July 15 **Nation:** "The neutral observer [studying the agreements] is far more likely to conclude that Berlin is East German territory, in which, for special reasons, the United States, Great Britain and France have the right to station troops."

In an all-out campaign to bind West

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BONN'S BRUSHING UP A SYMBOL OF GERMAN UNIFICATION
Can Adenauer's welders get the militaristic tarnish off Bismarck?

DELEGATES MILITANT—MARSHALL VOWS ACTION

NAACP debates best way of pressing integration fight

By Joanne Grant

PHILADELPHIA

MORE THAN 1,700 NEGRO and white delegates to the 52nd annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ended a week of meetings in Philadelphia July 16 with the promise of an all-out assault on segregation, but with questions of method and emphasis still being debated.

Many of the NAACP's members favor increasingly militant action by the organization to match the mighty challenge to segregation offered by the wave of sit-ins and the Freedom Riders in the South. The organization's more than 50 years of solid achievement in plugging away at racial barriers has been accompanied by a steadily growing influence both in the Negro community and in the centers of power—political parties and local and national government. But the question the association faces today: how do we go from here? awaits resolution.

TWO WEAPONS: In his final address to the convention, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, promised acceleration of activity on school desegregation and economic rights for Negroes. Two methods he emphasized were use of "selective buying"—"the spending of our consumer income with our friends rather than those hostile to us"—and use of the Negro's political strength in urban centers.

One conclusion to be reached at the end of many business sessions and convention addresses is that the NAACP will continue to use legal action as its main weapon. However, Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel of the organization's Legal Defense and Educational Fund, in his Freedom Fund Dinner address, called for a "March for Integration" as the final phase of the NAACP program. "Not in one field, not in one town, not on one problem, not in one area. Let our campaign be full and complete. Let it be across the board. Wherever segregation is—hit it, then and there," he said.

Striking the theme repeated by many at convention sessions, Marshall lashed out at token school integration and called for freedom now. "We must make it clear that we are talking about our rights—our constitutionally protected rights—and we want all of them and we want them now." Marshall then urged a massive school registration campaign

(Continued on Page 6)

THE MAIL BAG

Dissent from dissent

NO. SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Anent the defense of the Communist Party: The ad by the E.C.L.C. and Justice Black's opinion leave the impression that the Communists, even though bad, have a right to be heard.

In the ad reference is made to former Pres. Truman's remembering how the fearful Germans let the Nazis outlaw first Communist ideas, then Socialist ideas, then democratic ideas and finally common decency.

Justice Black says: "A vast majority of the American people were against the party's policies and overwhelmingly rejected its candidates year after year . . ."

Just when, over the period since the beginning of World War I, have Socialists or Communists been free to speak directly to large numbers of the American people? There have been billions of words printed and spoken by people telling the public their version of what the so-called "Communists" and "Socialists" advocated but the Socialists and Communists had virtually no opportunity to speak for themselves. So how can the American people be said to have rejected their ideas? The American people have rejected the ideas which were attributed to them by others.

Theodore E. Stuver

Subversion

SAWYER, MICH.

Did not the science of astronomy make its first big stride in subverting the Ptolemaic hypothesis and bringing forth the Copernican?

Catholicism was subverted by Protestantism. This in turn is subverted by an enlightened understanding of the material universe.

To attack subversion is un-American. **Otto Zarob**

Call to action

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Every American who cherishes democratic liberties should raise his voice in behalf of reconsideration and of the consignment of the McCarran Act to the grave it so richly deserves.

At the same time, the fight against this and other repressive laws is far from won. The Smith Act membership decision, making activity in behalf of a legal party a crime, still stands. The petition for a rehearing in the Scales case has been rejected, and the first victim of this piece of police-state registration is consigned to prison for six years. We intend to pursue with redoubled vigor the battle against all such laws and in defense of the Constitution, until victory is won. We reiterate our profound confidence that the highest court of all—the American people—will speak the last word and that they will not fail to uphold the great democratic traditions of our country.

Gus Hall, General Secy., Communist Party, U.S.A.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, July 15—A sober, moving and non-glutinous portrayal of what America is and the kind of threat it faces from communism has been produced (as a documentary film) by the Department of Defense as a major element in its troop indoctrination program . . . The iron fist of communism is shown, not by windrows of massacred Poles, but by Red freighters delivering tons of industrial equipment at the port of an undeveloped Asian country.

New York **Times**, July 16

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: D.R., N.YC

Thanks for Winston aid

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our heartiest thanks for your invaluable help in the long struggle for freedom for Henry Winston.

It is inspiring to watch this courageous man, who having lost the light in his eyes, has retained his vision and is ready to make his contribution to win a new world of freedom and peace. In the near future we plan to have a victory celebration. We hope Henry Winston will be there to greet you and thank you personally.

Bronx Committee for Freedom of Henry Winston

Outworn concepts

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Today, as throughout history, the persons most influential in shaping their countries' policies keep finding reasons why their fellow citizens should remain ready to kill other people. They see nothing ridiculous or irrational about strangers without grievance being ordered to seek mutual destruction. On the contrary, they believe circumstances can render this senseless phenomenon logical, useful, and necessary. Assuring the availability of such circumstances are archaic absurdities like "national honor," "spheres of influence," "strategic materials," and "balance of power," which preoccupy their minds constantly.

Only when statesmen discard those concepts, will international negotiations produce progress toward permanent peace. World leadership, particularly American and Soviet, would then become more receptive to the premise that neither our ideal of universal freedom, nor communism's professed goal of a classless society, justifies sacrificing even one human life.

Is this too much to expect from supposedly sane and civilized men and women? Would they rather transform the earth into a radioactive residue of uncompromising self-righteousness?

Samuel Michaelson

Who paid?

SURBITON, SURREY

The next time Daddy Dimwit says—or seems to say—that tax-supported medical aid is communistic, evil, soul-destroying, etc., etc., several thousand people should send him postcards asking how many medical bills he had to pay during the 40 long years he lived off the public payroll between his first day at West Point and his last day on the White House putting green.

William Reimbold

Decision on oath

NEWARK, N.J.

In behalf of the Secular Society of America, I would like to express our approval of the recent Supreme Court decision favoring Roy M. Torcaso, the Maryland notary public, who had been denied the right to public office because of his refusal to take a mandatory oath declaring his belief in God.

We agree with Justice Hugo Black's opinion that neither a state nor the Federal Government can constitutionally force a person to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion.

Harold Verb

Lancaster in the London Daily Express

"Could I, without endangering whatever security you've got left, suggest that the chief thing about 'a new and novel navy' is that it's out of date sooner and costs far more to replace than the ordinary kind?"

Mexican view

NEW YORK, N.Y.

While the plight of Siquieros grieves all of us, I think the GUARDIAN readers will be pleased to know that the intellectuals of Mexico understand fully the spirit of Castro's revolution. A pen pal, Adela Ortega, studying law at the University of Mexico, was kind enough to send me two pamphlets published by the law faculty. One refers to the "demented and neo-fascist declarations of Kennedy."

The other states: "At the cry of **Patria o Muerte**, the Cuban people are again preparing to defend their liberty, which is the liberty of all Latin America. Mexicans: Don't forget the Yanqui aggression at Vera Cruz in 1914 and Guatemala in 1954." And it is not signed by any group that the reactionary wing would call communist, but rather by the "Grupo Defensa de la Constituciòn" del B.E.R., law faculty, University of Mexico.

Ted Baker

For a cleanup

TORONTO, CANADA

Let them clean up the mess in their own backyard and then talk about a free world.

M. Berke

Some holdouts

LONDON, ONT.

It is through such papers as the GUARDIAN that we in Canada realize that all Americans have not been McCarthyized.

Frank Crockford

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

JULY 18 WAS THE 15th anniversary of the Franco-Hitler-Mussolini uprising to overthrow Spain's democratic government by force. On that day Secy. of State Acheson announced the U.S. was seeking military arrangements with the Franco dictatorship. Outcome of talks between Franco and U.S. Naval Chief Adm. Sherman (who died later in Naples) indicated the U.S. would get air and naval bases in Spain; Franco, arms and money to quell his subjects who had won world attention with a series of dramatic strikes last spring. Britain and France protested officially, but AP said they "merely acted for the record . . . The whole issue was threshed out and agreement reached long ago."

Press reports agreed the British and French governments would fall if they openly sided with Washington on the Franco issue. Insurgent Labourite Bevan, rank-and-file support of whose proposals for a new policy have "alarmed" the British government (N.Y. **Times**), castigated the Spain alliance as evidence of "a lack of consistent principle behind American foreign policy." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** said Britons see the move as "a major political blunder" which will convince Europeans Washington thinks war inevitable.

—From the National Guardian, July 25, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

The CIA and Cuba

THE IMMINENT RESIGNATION of Allen Welch Dulles as head the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, presumably as an aftermath of the fizzled Cuban invasion engineered by the CIA, makes especially timely the publication this month of **Cuba vs. the CIA** by Robert E. Light of the GUARDIAN and Carl Marzani, onetime OSS man, editor of Liberty Book Club and author of several political books including **We Can Be Friends** and (with economist Victor Perlo) **The Dollars and Sense of Disarmament.**

The Light-Marzani paperback (72 pp., illustrated, $1; Marzani & Munsell, 100 West 23rd St., N.Y. 11), a thorough-going examination of the CIA's role in the Cuban invasion and analysis of the causes and effects of its failure, raises sharply the question of whether the failure of the invasion was due in any measure at all to CIA miscalculation or misinformation.

Granting the CIA's tendency to accept judgments of exiles and the possibility that its agents might have reported what they thought the Agency head wanted to hear, the Light-Marzani analysis assembles evidence to show that the aim of the invasion was solely to hold a beachhead long enough ("say, a week") for a "Provisional Government" to be flown in, recognized and then made the pretext for official U.S. armed intervention. Why this plot failed (or was abandoned) involves ramifications going far beyond whether the CIA did or did not predict a popular uprising in Cuba in support of the invaders, or whether the agency incorrectly estimated the will and ability of the Cuban military to safeguard the island's 2,000 miles or so of coast line. The real reason for the failure of execution of the planned coup was evidently the last-minute realization, even while the invasion was in progress, that official participation would bring down world condemnation on the U.S.

The book provides in its early pages a detailed profile of Allen Dulles, including material published in England but not before in this country, exposing Dulles' dealings with the Nazis in 1943 as head of the Berne office of the OSS. In these conversations, brought to light from Nazi files by a British M.P., Robert Edwards, Dulles was referred to by his "cover" name of Mr. Bull. The discussion, at a time following the Allied demand for unconditional surrender of the Hitler forces, was on the subject of a negotiated peace. Mr. Bull's view was that the German state must continue "as a factor of order and progress" and as part of a **cordon sanitaire** against Bolshevism and pan-Slavism.

The authors of **Cuba vs the CIA** state: "It is doubtful that Allen Dulles will last through 1961 as director of the CIA."

OF THE EFFECT of the Cuban invasion, the authors conclude: "Cuba has brought out into the open a debate which has been going on among the power elite . . . a reflection of the struggle over a change in foreign policy . . . which will become sharper under pressure of international events . . .

"It is our profound conviction that in the next few years great political struggles will take place in our country to take American foreign policy out of the hands of the CIA, the Pentagon, the armaments corporations and the political diehards. In such an eventuality we may look back to the Cuban fiasco as a turning point in international affairs, and the American people may finally see the Cuban Revolution as an essential step in achieving their own democratic fulfillment."

•

HOW THE CUBANS accomplished their revolution is graphically told in **M-26, the biography of a Revolution**, by Robert Taber, CBS newsman who went into the Sierra Maestra to Fidel Castro's stronghold before the revolution succeeded. Later he became a founder of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and lost his CBS job as a result. He is now in Cuba, where he wrote his book with the full cooperation of the Revolutionary government and the **Movimiento Revolucionario 26 de Julio**, Cuba's revolutionary party which took its name from the date of Castro's initial attack on the Moncado fortress in Santiago in 1953.

Because of the wealth of material and Taber's eventful narrative style, his book (348 pp., $4.95; Lyle Stuart, 225 Lafayette St., N.Y. 12) reads like a day-to-day journal of the intensified struggle which resumed in 1956 and continued until final victory at the end of 1958. The tortures and massacres of the Batista government, the grueling hardships undergone by the revolutionaries, and the fact that at no time did Fidel's **barbudos**, a handful of 12 at the outset, number more than 1,500, makes **M-26** an almost fabulous story of how genuine revolutions are made—by people rather than by force of arms.

—THE GUARDIAN

KENNEDY'S URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM WILL WORSEN—NOT SOLVE—THE PROBLEM

Spreading slums—and the new Housing Act

By Ed Sears

Second of two articles

EARLY LAST MONTH, when Congress was debating the housing bill, Mrs. Katie Brice, a Harlem mother of five, complained to a New York judge about her living conditions.

In the last three years Mrs. Brice and each of her children had been bitten at least once by rats. Mrs. Brice finally got a cat, which ended the rat menace for the time being. But this did not end her troubles.

Soon after the rats had departed, swarms of cockroaches invaded her home.

I tried to kill those bugs," Mrs. Brice said, "but no more than I do, there's a thousand new ones swarming in."

NOT UNUSUAL: Mrs. Brice's story is not shocking to those who are forced to live in this country's slums. In his recent housing message to Congress, President Kennedy said that "14 million American families . . . currently live in substandard and deteriorating homes." About 47 million persons, more than one-fourth the total population, are members of these 14 million families.

Despite intense building activity in the postwar years, America has made no significant progress against the increase of slums.

"Slums have been spreading in most cities more rapidly than we have been able to remove them," Senator Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), a member of the Senate Subcommittee on Housing, told his colleagues recently.

Many self-styled housing experts have cited many reasons for the spread of

Eccles in the London Worker

"I don't care what kind of sharks they are as long as they don't want any rent."

slums. Among them are the shift of population from country to city; influx of minority groups into urban centers; and the country's rapid industrial expansion. Robert Moses, former chairman of New York City's Committee on Slum Clearance, went so far as to blame the "reduction in infant mortality, prolongation of life, and other well-known factors" for the existence of blight.

NO WORD OF PROFIT: In their analysis, the experts somehow manage to overlook the most important reason for the existence of slums: Slums are among the most profitable investments in the United States today. If the government ever took the profits out of slums, slums would disappear overnight.

The New York State Rent Commission in a recent study of New York City's Morningside Heights area found that owners of slum buildings netted between 15 to 20 percent annual profit. Since the commission's estimates were based on figures furnished by the owners themselves, one can be sure actual return is much higher.

These high slum profits are the direct result of (1) the severe shortage of low-cost housing and (2) the rampant discrimination in housing in all sections of the country.

Since the end of World War II, about 18 million new homes or apartments have been built in America's cities and non-farm areas. All but about ½ million of these units were erected with private funds. Public housing made up less than 3% of all the housing constructed in the postwar years.

HIGH PRICES: Practically all the privately built housing was priced beyond the reach of the great majority of families. The Federal Housing Administration estimated that the average new family home which it insured in 1960 cost almost $15,000. To buy and maintain such a house requires an income of at least $7,700 a year or $148 a week. Less than one-third of America's families have such an income.

Rentals in new apartments have also been too high for most people. The medium rent for a new apartment in New York City is $41 a room a month. A new 4-room apartment thus cost $164 a month. Such an apartment requires an income of $15,000 a year or $300 a week. While rentals may not be this high in other cities, they are nevertheless too high for most families.

Nearly all postwar housing was thus built for America's upper third. With the exception of the half-million public housing units, nothing was built for the rest of the people.

At the same time, the supply of homes for low-income people was drastically reduced by the highway program, urban renewal projects, and other "public improvements." This has intensified the shortage of homes for two-thirds of the American people.

NEGROES DISPLACED: These programs have hit the Negro people especially hard. In many instances they are the ones displaced to make room for "public improvements."

Jack Wood, NAACP housing director, told the Senate Subcommittee on Housing last April: "On a national basis Negroes constitute 56% of the families being displaced. In urban areas Negroes constitute more than 80% of the families confronted with displacement."

The combination of building homes for America's most affluent third and destroying homes inhabited by its non-affluent two-thirds has created a paradox: the simultaneous appearance of vacancies and shortages in most of the large cities.

Vacancies abound in the new, high-priced units, while in working-class areas and in Negro and other minority sections serious overcrowding exists.

"If the population density in some of Harlem's worst blocks were translated in larger terms, we could fit the entire population of the United States into three of this city's five boroughs," Dr. Frank S. Horne, executive director of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, reported to the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1959.

BIAS FACTOR: The overcrowding of the Negro and other minority groups is due not only to their low-income levels but to discrimination. In most cities Negroes are confined to specified areas. Negroes who attempt to move to other areas encounter resistance from real estate brokers, who try to stop them from renting or buying; from banks, which refuse to grant them mortgages; from insurance companies, which refuse to underwrite properties; from city officials, who are often allied to those real estate interests making huge profits out of segregated slum housing; and from a host of other forces determined to maintain existing racial patterns. If the Negro is able to overcome the generally nonviolent pressures which are first applied by these forces, he often has to face much more direct, violent measures, which are usually organized by these same groups.

These pressures have made it difficult, if not impossible, for higher-income Negroes to obtain housing of quality equal to that of whites of similar income levels. Negroes have been systematically excluded from 98% of the all new homes built with FHA-insured mortgages since 1946. The new homes made available to Negroes were mainly in all-Negro communities in the South.

HARLEM TENANTS ARE FORCED TO WAGE AN UNENDING WAR
Pickets at Rent Commission office July 6 asked action on complaints

These patterns of discrimination force the great majority of Negro people to spend their entire lives in overcrowded, unsanitary and unhealthy ghettoes. Since the Negroes constitute a significant portion of the population of this country's major urban centers, America will never be able to eliminate its slums unless it ends all discrimination in housing.

NO SOLUTION: In this situation of spreading slums and continuing discrimination, the Kennedy administration's new Housing Act offers no answers. It provides low down-payment, 35-year mortgages, below-market interest rate mortgages to cooperatives, and easier home improvement loan terms, but the benefits of these programs are limited and largely illusory (GUARDIAN, July 17).

The principal other part of the act authorizes an additional $2 billion for an urban renewal program.

While this country needs revitalized urban renewal, it does not need the kind of program in operation in the last decade. This type of renewal, by destroying many low-cost homes, and replacing them with luxury apartments or public buildings, has intensified the housing shortage for America's "forgotten families." The urban renewal program in many cities has, furthermore, been permeated with scandals and graft.

"Instead of building housing for low and middle-income families, the billion dollar Title I program [urban renewal program] has often become a Government-sponsored means to a 'fast buck' for windfallers, chiselers and profiteers," declared Rep. William F. Ryan (D-N.Y.) in a speech demanding a Congressional investigation of the program.

Minority groups have been the chief victims. The United States Commission on Civil Rights declared that operation of the program "gives rise to the question whether slum clearance is being used for 'Negro clearance'."

SAME POLICY: President Kennedy's call for increased funds for urban renewal without any promise that past policies will be changed does not bode well. His failure to demand any guarantees against discrimination indicates that under the New Frontier as under the old, Negroes will be victims, not beneficiaries, of this program.

Equally serious is Kennedy's failure to expand the public housing program, the only program capable of meeting the needs of 23 million families earning under $6,500.

Under the Housing Act of 1949, Congress authorized the construction of 810,000 public housing units over a period of six years. At the same time Congress authorized the Public Housing Administration to pay subsidies to these units up to a maximum of $336 million a year. These subsidies were to be paid to local housing authorities to cover the difference between the rents they received, and the operating expenses. The subsidies were, in effect, guarantees to the bankers who held Housing Authority bonds that their investments would pay off.

By 1959, ten years later, the PHA had authorized construction of only 373,000 units. The Housing Act of 1959 scuttled the goal of 810,000 units, supposed to be reached in 1955, by lopping off 400,000 units, limiting the total to 410,000.

SUBSIDY SURPLUS: Contracts signed this year for construction of these units called for annual subsidies of $257 million, $79 million less than the $336 million originally authorized by Congress.

The new Housing Act merely authorizes the PHA to spend this remaining $79 million. Under current construction costs, this will build an estimated 100,000 additional units. That will leave the nation 300,000 units short of the 810,000 goal of the 1949 Housing Act. The new act sets no time limit, and several years may elapse before the $79 million is spent. Meantime, the need for housing for America's forgotten families grows. The shortage of low-cost housing will continue; slums will remain as profitable as ever. And people like Mrs. Brice will still wage their daily battle against rats and roaches.

There is little wonder, then, that the Kennedy housing program has stirred no enthusiasm in labor and liberal circles.

"I am forced to say, reluctantly," declared New Deal economist Leon Keyserling, "that . . . this does not strike me as an omnibus bill; it strikes me as a kiddie car bill."

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The Berlin 'crisis'

(Continued from Page 1)

Berlin to the Federal Republic—as a kind of Trojan horse within the gates of East Germany—Bonn has steadily built up a satellite economy in the city, by "a series of aid-to-business measures . . . which annually pumps some $300 million into the West Berlin budget. The Federal Republic also refunds a 4% 'turnover' tax normally paid on purchases, if West German firms buy from a West Berlin manufacturer . . . For tax purposes West Berlin businessmen are allowed much faster depreciation rates on new facilities than their countrymen in West Germany . . . West Berliners' income taxes are some 20% lower than in West Germany." (**Wall Street Journal**, July 12).

ARTIFICIAL BOOM: West Berlin is artifically propped up as a "showcase" 'to attract East German immigration, a tactic so successful it has imposed a severe teacher and technical shortage on the Democratic Republic. "If assistance from Bonn were suddenly halted," a diplomat told the **Wall Street Journal**, "West Berlin's boom would dry up overnight."

The latest move in this Bonn campaign of provocation is to shift sittings of the Bundesrat to Berlin, meanwhile holding out the prospect of turning the city into West Germany's capital. The senselessness of these objectives can be seen by a glance at a map. Their aim is not different from that of the U.S. in hanging on to Chiang—to challenge the legitimacy of a disliked government and fan the hope of overthrowing it.

Harry Reade, Hoy, Ravana

To the Eastern Europeans, victims of two devastating aggressions by the people to whom the U.S. feels so "obligated" today, these provocations, combined with stepped-up German rearmament, have, in Khrushchev's words, "created a deeply abnormal and dangerous situation in Europe." To end it, the Soviet premier has laid down nothing like the fearsome demands or "threats" Washington and the U.S. press have been clamoring about. He has not even insisted on a free-city formula, telling Kennedy only that "at present the Soviet Government sees no better solution of the problem of West Berlin." Nor has he insisted on a peace treaty; he would settle for "an interim solution."

This is the tone of his pronouncements and appeals. Essentially, he is asking for negotiations—with the advance pledge that the Soviet Union will not propose any changes that would "prejudice the interests of the U.S. or other powers . . . The Soviet Government will show the maximum of goodwill . . ." (Memorandum).

POTSDAM 'OUT': Of what value is this pledge? A moment's reflection on the problem reveals that if, indeed, the absorption of West Berlin into East Germany is the ulterior Soviet aim, the East Germans would be on much firmer legal ground to undertake it without, rather than with, a new agreement. The old statutes have been thoroughly compromised by the tearing up in practice of the Potsdam accord, and even the British are pressing Washington to recognize that they are outdated. Furthermore, these statutes do not provide international guarantees for the West Berliners. The U.S. would achieve its own ends with far greater assurance under the terms of the peace treaty Khrushchev is offering —unless, of course, there is an ulterior American aim, namely playing Adenauer's game of maintaining tension in East Germany by leaving the borders unsettled and West Berlin untamed.

Khrushchev does not need to be so generous. Most commentators agree he "holds all the cards." Western policy has got itself marooned on an isolated outpost of the Western world, "defending a status quo which has no sensible status," as the N.Y. **Times** chief foreign correspondent, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, has written. Recognizing this, Walter Lippmann has urged that the West "insist as a matter of positive Western policy, not as a shamefaced concession to the Soviets, on new guarantees [for West Berlin] to meet this new situation."

ALLIES BALKY: Meantime, Washington's do-nothing policy was having hard sledding. The British are agreeable, under certain conditions, to Khrushchev's call for negotiations. The negative, hostile three-power Notes to Moscow had been delayed over a week because the smaller NATO states, complaining of "perfunctory treatment of their governments by the U.S." and protesting that the Big 3 were "trying to railroad the notes through the Atlantic alliance" (N. Y. **Times**), insisted on full discussion of them. Indications were growing that the Western intransigeance had little popular support in Britain and Western Europe.

Nevertheless, the West was plunging ahead with a policy—in which even Adenauer did not wholeheartedly believe—of spurning multilateral agreement and simultaneously denouncing the bilateral agreement Khrushchev has warned will be his alternative with East Germany.

Bilateral termination of the occupation statutes by Russia and East Germany will leave the latter free to deal with Adenauer's Trojan horse policy as it sees fit. If that policy is to continue, the conditions are laid for a new Sarajevo. These are the stakes in the Berlin problem.

On-the-spot coverage of NAACP

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like Joanne Grant's story of the NAACP convention, on page 1, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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A DELEGATION from the Committee to Defend Francisco Molina—including his mother, Dolores (left) and his sister Maria (center)—July 10 asked New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to pardon the young Cuban, now serving a 20-year term in Sing Sing. The delegation presented 3,500 telegrams protesting the imprisonment. Molina, a pro-Castro Cuban, was convicted of the accidental killing of a girl during a fight between pro- and anti-Castro Cubans in New York last September. The defense has moved for a new trial on the grounds that (1) anti-Castro hysteria precluded a fair trial; (2) a key prosecution witness has admitted perjury; and (3) the judge blocked cross-examination of witnesses. In Havana, 350 U.S. citizens living in Cuba sent a telegram urging President Kennedy to pardon Molina.

Contributions are requested by the Committee to Defend Francisco Molina, 154 Nassau St., New York 38, N.Y.

Ulbricht: West will get used to pact

Special to the Guardian

BERLIN

AT A SIGNIFICANT press conference June 15 Walter Ulbricht, chairman of the East German State Council, declared: "The peace treaty will come one way or another. West Berlin will become a Free City with guaranteed neutrality . . . And those who may have objections to a peace treaty will get used to it just as they got used to the existence of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp and a lot more that was new in the world."

The conference was carefully misrepresented in "impartial" western papers.

According to the **Times** of June 16, the meaning of the press conference was in threats by Ulbricht to close Tempelhof airport in the American sector of Berlin. What actually happened was this: Ulbricht mentioned that the airport, located in a thickly populated district and with inadequate take-off and landing facilities, was unsafe. (His opinion was echoed by the anti-communist Hamburg **Spiegel** in its issue of June 28, which went on to state that only East Berlin's Schonefeld airport offered "a guarantee that in case of an accident . . . the machine would not crash into apartment houses.")

A N.Y. **Times** reporter asked Ulbricht whether in the event of a peace treaty, Tempelhof would be closed. He replied mildly, "Perhaps it will close itself down. We await the proposals of the western powers on these questions. We will make our own proposals and they will make theirs." The headline in next day's **Times** was "Ulbricht Threatens Ban on Air Traffic to Berlin," and the quotations in the story were out of context.

Ulbricht had pointed out that air safety regulations are customarily made by a sovereign state. Since West Berlin was on the territory of the GDR, traffic to and from it must be regulated by the GDR.

PAYMENT OF UNION BENEFITS IS THE ISSUE

Guild action may decide fate of Portland's strike-born paper

PORTLAND, ORE.

THE FUTURE OF THE Portland **Daily Reporter**, strike-born, labor-backed tabloid with almost 60,000 paid circulation, may depend on whether the American Newspaper Guild convention in Vancouver, July 24-28, decides to continue strike benefits to Guild members on the paper's staff.

The paper was born early in 1960 as a weekly published by Guild and craft union strikers at the **Oregonian** and Portland **Journal**. Stereotypers at the **Oregonian** walked out Nov. 10, 1959, when the paper, controlled by S. I. Newhouse, refused to bargain in good faith. Seven other newspaper unions respected stereotype picket lines. When the **Journal** refused to bargain separately, it was struck too.

UP TO 48 PAGES: The **Reporter's** size has ranged from 32 to 48 pages. It has the most experienced staff in town, both editorial and mechanical. It uses Associated Press coverage—made available on condition of paying a year in advance. Advertising is plentiful; the leading local department store occasionally takes a full page. Its classified ad section is often larger than the **Journal's** and its circulation at times is also larger. Plant and equipment have been provided mainly by the printing trades unions.

Most staff members work for strike benefits from their unions, plus contributions from other unions and sympathetic persons. Outside donations totaled more than $143,000 as of July 1. In addition, the **Reporter** raises funds by the sale of stock. Oregon Senators Wayne Morse and Maurine Neuberger, both Democrats, have bought shares, and many AFL-CIO and independent unions have invested.

Robert D. Webb, former sports editor of the **Oregonian** and a Guild member since 1941, is publisher of the **Reporter**. He told the GUARDIAN: "The prospects for the **Reporter** are very good. Community response is fine." Managing editor J. Lynn Wykoff said: "The paper is making a place for itself here. We hope by the end of the year it will require no further help."

GUILD DEBATE: But trouble may hit before the end of the year. The Guild's Intl. Executive Board three times set a deadline to end strike benefits. Finally it referred the question to this month's convention. Some on the board have argued against continuing benefits because the **Reporter** is a commercial paper with paid subscriptions and advertising, and thus no longer a strike weapon.

NEW NATION SEEKS SENSE OF CONTINUITY IN ITS BUILDING

A modern Guinea nurtures its African heritage

By Kumar Goshal
Guardian staff correspondent

CONAKRY, GUINEA

PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE and his Guinea government take fierce pride in being African. The aspect of life in Guinea that most forcefully strikes a visitor is the government's conscious efforts to proclaim itself African, its attempt to preserve all that was admirable in Guinean life in pre-colonial days, to build a modern Guinea on an African foundation, to give the people a sense of continuity in cultural heritage and experience, as Africans.

The government has many other accomplishments to its credit. Bauxite, cement and chemical plants are springing up; the harbor is being modernized; a national pharmaceutical company has been set up under the Ministry of Public Health, to run drug stores and laboratories; roads are being built; institutes of learning are mushrooming and cultural and sports arenas are not neglected; improvement in farming methods and crop variation are being undertaken. But a special aura permeates these activities; Africans are doing all these things as Africans.

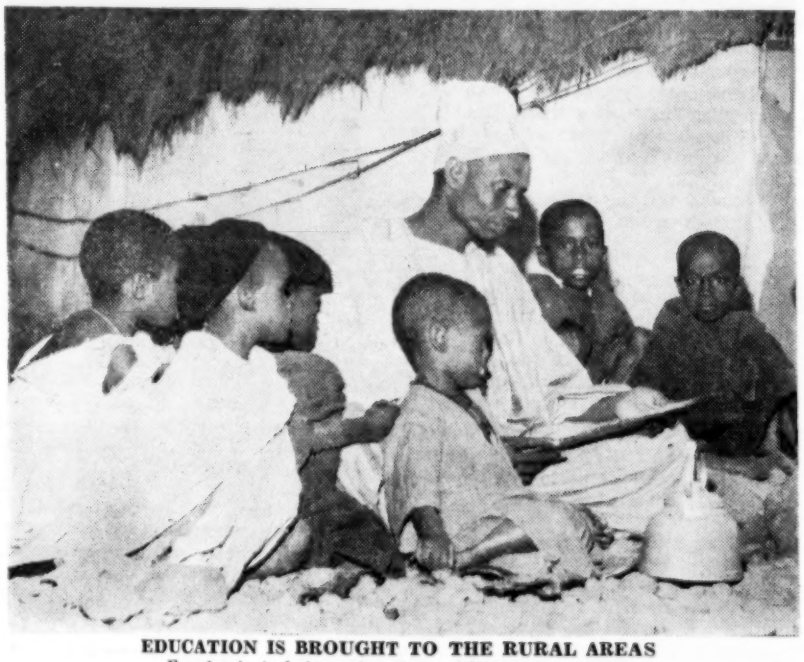
LANGUAGE PROBLEM: There is no chauvinism in this. The special feeling springs from revulsion at the colonial master's attempts to impress the Guineans with the master's superiority, to try to remake the Guineans in the image of the master.

Speaking of education under colonial rule, Toure said, "The education that was dispensed to us [tended] to assimilate us, to de-personalize, to Westernize us, to present to us our civilization, our

A GUINEAN WOMAN
Typical grace and beauty

culture, our own sociological and philosophical concepts—in a word our humanism—as the expression of a savage, only half-conscious primitiveness."

Toure regrets that "we are not able at present to adopt as an official language one of the national languages of Africa." He says bluntly that "except for colonization, we should not be obliged to learn either French or English." Left to themselves, he says, Africans might have "modified the bases of [their] organization of State, profiting by other peoples' experiences." He is sure that by hard work Guineans could succeed "in teaching all the lessons or the principles of general and scientific culture in Peulh, Soussou or Malinke."



EDUCATION IS BROUGHT TO THE RURAL AREAS
Emphasis is being placed on African languages

Time, however, is precious, and a foreign language has to be utilized. The political bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea, therefore, makes French and English compulsory, but with the provision that these languages "must serve to let the young people know what is African first." The bureau has also ordered the teaching of African languages in the schools, so that "the future national staffs will be able, everywhere in Guinea, to speak directly to the people."

GRACE IN WALK: Both social and cultural progress can be made without sacrificing national heritage. The women of Guinea are beautiful; the older women have a singular majesty in their carriage and the young women walk with exquisite grace. The fact that lack of modern transportation facilities and poverty have forced young girls to carry heavy loads on their heads has, paradoxically, contributed to their graceful walk, for to keep the burden steady, the girls walk with an even, swaying motion.

One finds a graceful—but not at all effeminate — manner of walking even among boys and men, for they too carry heavy loads on their heads for great distances. This swaying gait furnishes the basic step in traditional dances and can be speeded and varied into steps of great power and excitement.

DANCE CONTRAST: On a Saturday night I went with some friends to a large hall in Conakry to see a drama and dance competition between two regional groups. The theme was the same for both groups: Past incidents of resistance to colonialism and the meaning of complete independence. One group was apparently influenced with Western pantomime and "interpretative" dancing: The dancers' gestures depicting conflict with colonialism were smooth, accurate and uninspiring; their dance depicting ownership of the land and cultivation of it with traditional hoes was again explicit but unexciting.

The second group used broad, traditional methods of caricature reminiscent of the comedia del arte, vastly amusing and dramatically telling. The dance began with a lazy, sensuous rhythm, gained speed and vigor, became varied in pattern as individuals stepped out of the group and tried to outdo one another. At the climax the whole group whirled and stomped with incredible speed. It was an exhibition of such controlled power and yet seemingly effortless abandon that it was the very ecstasy of total independence.

After seeing such a performance, I began to understand why Toure emphasizes swift "decolonization" of the whole continent of Africa, for colonialism stultifies this sense of freedom, which is ecstatic at its keenest moments. He strikes at those who would go slowly, who would substitute "Guinean agents, middlemen and firms for the colonial agents, middlemen and firms" instead of starting to build on a new foundation.

Toure says, "When we say 'decolonization' we mean we want to destroy the habits, conceptions and ways of conduct of colonialism. We are determined to replace them with forms that are Guinean; forms conceived by the people of Guinea, adapted to the conditions, to the means, to the aspirations of the people of Guinea."

NO FEARS: Toure is not impressed by such arguments as those that colonials are not able to govern themselves if suddenly freed, that they must first be prepared for independence, and that they must first develop a trained elite group to govern. He says, "The world did not begin with the colonial phenomenon; there is, therefore, no need to fear that the world will come to an end with the end of the colonial phenomenon."

By accepting the challenge of complete independence, despite the warnings of disaster, by not merely surviving but starting to build a new life vigorously identified with its purpose, Toure can say with authority, "At any moment of its existence, a people can govern itself."

ISSERMAN REINSTATED TO THE N.J. BAR

NEARLY TWELVE YEARS of suspension and disbarment resulting from contempt charges in the first Foley Square Smith Act trials ended this month for Abraham J. Isserman, one of five lawyers cited for contempt for their defense of Communist leaders in the 1948-49 proceedings.

Isserman was disbarred by the N.J. Supreme Court in 1952 when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld his contempt conviction. The U.S. Supreme Court disbarred him in 1953 by a vote of 4-4, but in 1954 changed its rules and ended his disbarment.

In its recent decision for reinstatement the N.J. Supreme Court said: "Isserman has carried the stigma of disbarment for nine years. We are convinced this is more than enough." Isserman, who lives in New York City, plans to return to New Jersey and resume practice.

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"In the United States, it's a Crime to Defend the Cuban Revolution"

—Francisco Molina

Francisco Molina has been sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.

The five Batistiano counter-revolutionaries who attacked Molina and his friends with chains and knives are under no charges. On the contrary, they have been treated as heroes. The open intervention of the CIA into the Molina trial, and their behind-the-scenes smuggling of witnesses from Guatemala to testify against this young Fidelista has brought no reduction in the unknown-millions expense account of this organization.

The real criminals are still at large. They are armed and dangerous. But Francisco Molina, one-armed Cuban worker and supporter of his country's Revolution, is in Sing Sing.

He will not grovel or sacrifice his principles to be released. He has turned down the deals offered by the D.A. But the consequences are harsh. At this moment, his treatment by the prison authorities adds another page to his long list of grievances against the U.S. Government. He is not allowed to write or receive mail in Spanish. They have taken away his mechanical right arm. Only one friend a month is allowed to see him, and then, unlike prisons in other parts of the world, he is denied visits from women except his mother and sisters.

Young Molina does not despair, and neither do those who believe in his innocence. The world-wide pressure of great masses of people has brought freedom for victims of political persecution before, and it can do it again for Francisco Molina. The conviction of second degree murder is being appealed. At the same time, telegrams are flooding Governor Rockefeller's office (over 3,500 were presented by the Committee last week) for a pardon, for the court appeal is slow and costly.

Our committee is convinced that knowledge of the facts of the Molina case will rally millions to his support. The daily papers have suppressed these facts. That leaves us with the responsibility to print, mimeo, broadcast, mail out and spread in every way possible the information about this frameup. When Molina is free, we will not have once and for all put wrong on the scaffold and truth on the throne. But we will have put a crimp in the long frameup line stretching from Tom Mooney through Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs.

Funds are needed for this work and to supply Molina with pocket money for cigarettes, etc., until he is freed.

Each week the CIA, the courts and the D.A. put their hands in your pockets, and you routinely and unthinkingly surrender a good part of your earnings in taxes that go to finance these very organizations that have unjustly seized Molina. Should it require much effort or soul-searching to, for just one week, turn over an equal amount to free him?

Send Contributions to:

The Committee to Defend Francisco Molina
154 Nassau St., Room 832, New York 38, N. Y.

NAACP convention

(Continued from Page 1)
throughout the South in September.

FLOOR DEBATES: Underlying the convention debates was the desire of some delegates for a more militant approach. This was on the lips of many in corridor discussions and came out openly in at least one floor debate on a resolution supporting the Freedom Rides. A show of hands vote appeared almost equally divided on an amendment to the resolution which would have deleted the section: "We do not require our members who participate in them [the Rides] to choose jail rather than bail, but we leave that decision to each individual member concerned." One delegate summed up opposition to the section by saying the resolution was "damning the Freedom Rides by faint praise." On a tabulated vote by region, the resolution passed intact with two regions—the Northeastern states and the Midwest—voting no.

The question of militancy was related by many delegates to their concern for greater local control of policy and program. The policy of control from the top through directives issued from the national staff to regional and local staffs and then to local branch officers and members, delegates said, sometimes caused damaging delays. At other times, suggested local actions have been rejected by those far from the scene, delegates complained.

BOARD ENLARGED: One attempt to ease this situation was a proposal to enlarge the Board of Directors to include more regional representatives and more youth members. The convention voted to increase the board from 48 to 60, bringing the number of regional members up to 21 and youth members up to three. One delegate said: "It's no improvement. The board is still self-perpetuating, since it elects 18 members itself and another 18 are chosen by the convention's nominating committee. Besides, power will be in the hands of the 15-member executive committee, chosen by the board from its membership, which will meet monthly. The whole board will meet only three times a year."

Among the encouraging aspects of the convention was the number of times that speakers expressed concern for civil liberties as part of the struggle for civil rights. In his keynote address Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, NAACP board chairman, condemned the John Birch Society as "more of a threat than iron-pipe mobsters in Alabama." He pointed out that the society aims at impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren "for handing down the school desegregation ruling." He said:

"The Birch Society is also against Federal civil rights action and for leaving such matters to the states. Finally, the Birch Society believes in restricting voting rights to those who, in its judgment, are 'qualified.' Most of us do not need a crystal ball to tell us how many Negro Americans the Birch Society would find to be 'qualified.'"

CALL TO ACTION: Dr. Emmett E. Dorsey, political science professor at Howard University, declared that "civil liberties and civil rights are inseparable." "Attempts of Southern states to deny First Amendment rights to the NAACP and its members, he said, "have dramatized to Negroes the fact that civil rights can be muted and curbed by abridgements of constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties. . . . The policy that Negroes and their organizations should not participate in the struggles against McCarthyism, the loyalty committee of the Congress and similar state and local activities is wrong—it is self-defeating."

The convention passed resolutions condemning the John Birch Society, and calling for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and suggested transfer of HUAC's "proper functions" to the Judiciary Committee. The convention also condemned university and state loyalty oaths "insofar as they attempt to contravene the basic concepts of the Constitution and the laws of the United States and deny employment to qualified persons who refuse to take such illegal and spurious oaths."

JAMES FARMER (THIRD FROM LEFT) TELLS OF DAYS IN JAIL
Integration leaders listening to CORE director just before convention are Medgar Evers (left), Jack Young and Richard Haley (right).

After a 45-minute debate the convention passed a resolution against "Black Nationalists, Muslims and other separatist groups." The resolution said:: We stand unalterably opposed to all separatist programs whether advocated by Southern segregationists or espoused by non-white racist organizations." The resolution criticized the "disruption and breaking up of the NAACP's May 17, 1961, Harlem rally."

ECONOMIC FIELD: The struggle of Negroes for economic rights was noted in resolutions urging enforcement by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity of the anti-discrimination provision in all Government contracts; a Presidential Executive Order to end bias in state employment agencies, and enforcement of the anti-closed shop provision of the National Labor Relations Act "when there is no progress by particular unions in ending racial discrimination."

Major addresses on Negro job opportunities were given by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Sleeping Car Porters and AFL-CIO vice president; Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) and Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary.

Powell promised as chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor to "do everything in my power to prevent any legislation favorable to the craft unions from coming out of our Committee until these craft unions get in step with democracy."

SAME GOAL: The problem of unified effort in the Negro movement was touched upon by several NAACP officials. Marshall called for an exchange of information by civil rights groups. Perhaps the way was pointed by James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who delivered to the NAACP convention his first major address since leaving the Jackson, Miss., jail where he ended a Freedom Ride. Farmer said that to suggest that CORE and the NAACP were competitive organizations was "sheer, utter nonsense." He said gains NAACP had made through the courts had laid the base for direct action projects of CORE. He called on the NAACP to exert economic pressure on Mississippi to aid the Freedom Rides and said the two organizations were working together in unity toward the same goal. "A debate on strategy, tactics and method is healthy," he said.

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LOS ANGELES

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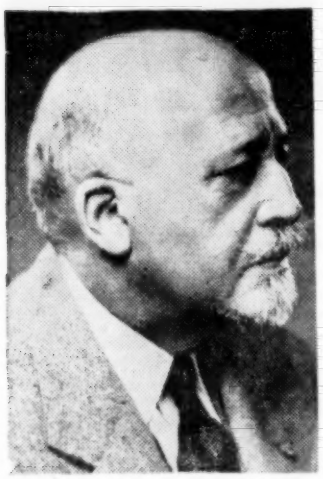

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NEWSPAPER

BOOKS

One idea of coexistence

LOUIS FISCHER'S latest book* offers us the glum prospect of a jittery coexistence within the framework of a long-extended cold war. It is an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile his anti-Soviet bias with a recognition of the consequences of nuclear destruction for both the vanquished and the victor in total war.

The contradiction between his common sense and his political prejudice forces him to adopt a hardly recognizable concept of coexistence. Blaming the Soviet Union and its "red imperialism" for existing tensions, he calls for a continued arms buildup and a greatly strengthened NATO with a remilitarized West Germany for its base. The goal of all this is as fantastic as the proposal: "The end of the ice age will dawn when the Soviet and American economies will begin to creak and Europe, united, is strong in conventional arms. Meanwhile, there is no alternative to holding the line." As for the more distant future, the advance of technology will so steep the world in the gravy of well-being that all distinctions of ideology and politics will vanish and terms such as "capitalist" and "communist" will cease to have meaning.

FISCHER FAILS TO explain how this devoutly-to-be-wished-for result is to be achieved when the advanced state of technology in the United States serves only to provide us with a war-oriented economy, one of whose principal, though illusory, aims is to alleviate the consequences of over-production. Therefore, his brave new world is merely a bit of wishful thinking tagged on to a program which makes such a world impossible of attainment.

Recent events, such as American intervention in Cuban and Southeast Asian affairs, have proved that an economy geared to the assumption that war is practically inevitable leads to a bellicose psychology and to aggressive acts. Fischer shrinks only from the acts—which must follow if his cold-war strategy is adopted.

THE AUTHOR'S POSITION on domestic affairs is both liberal and pragmatic. He finds serious flaws in our "showcase" democracy. He is worried about growing unemployment, inadequate social security and substandard public health and education facilities, and concerned to witness the persistence of racial discrimination and the increasing assaults on civil liberties. But he will not relate these phenomena to the cold-war paranoia which breeds and sustains them.

Ironically, Fischer's criticism of American life has earned him a lukewarm reception from many reviewers notwithstanding his rancorous references t the Soviet Union and his unctuous treatment of the West German government. To run with the pack one must bay as loudly as the rest.

—John Fellows

**RUSSIA, AMERICA AND THE WORLD, by Louis Fischer. Harper and Bros. 244 pp. $4.50.*

the SPECTATOR

A White House visit

THE NAACP's "Freedom Train" pulled out of Philadelphia's 30th street station only 10 minutes late, with 1,250 convention delegates standing in the aisles and filling every available seat. Delegates were headed for Washington for a day of visits to their Senators and Representatives to press for civil rights legislation. The day was a convention highlight, and an important item among the day's activities was a scheduled visit to the President. One recalled the pilgrimages made to Washington in behalf of civil rights by 10,000 Negro youth who were turned away at the White House door year after year. But this trip would be different.

On July 9, the day before the convention opened, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, had strongly criticized the President for his failure to keep campaign pledges to push for civil rights legislation. The Philadelphia **Inquirer** marked the opening of the convention with an editorial which said: "The need for new legislation to assure equal rights is evident. No time is better than now to fight for it." The day before the Freedom Train pulled out Clarence Mitchell, NAACP Washington representative, briefed the delegates and said: "We have been betrayed by the present Administration on the matter of legislation."

The Freedom Train riders' first stop in Washington was the auditorium of the New Senate Office building, where they were greeted by Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.), one of the men whom the President had chosen during the campaign to draft civil rights legislation. Sen. Clark said: "The legislation is in, and now we want him [Kennedy] to keep his promise."

AFTER THIS STOP, 65 members of the Board of Directors and national and local officers of the association, plus a few members of the press who somehow managed to slip in, went to call at the White House. The President, looking tanned and healthy, settled back in his rocker to listen to a prepared statement read by Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, board chairman. The women had been seated first on gold velvet settees and chairs around the President. The men stood three-deep to listen silently to the request for legislative action.

"The concern of your administration for basic human rights is as encouraging as it is unmistakable," the Bishop read. "You have left no doubt about where you stand on civil rights and the recognition of all persons on the basis of individual merit." He noted the executive actions taken in the field of civil rights. But, he said, "There is urgent need to buttress executive action with legislative action in the Congress."

The President rose and expressed his thanks. He stated his position frankly. He disagreed with the Bishop and outlined his view of the civil rights situation. He said the job now was to implement civil rights laws already on the books. "I know you disagree with me," he said, "but that is my view." The NAACP's job, he said, was "to keep the heat on us." Using a familiar gambit he cited economic measures already passed which he said, "are of great concern to the people you represent."

At the end of the interview, which took place in an oval-shaped study, one of the private rooms of the White House, the President took the group on a brief tour of adjoining rooms. Showing the delegates Lincoln's bed and a copy in Lincoln's handwriting of the Gettysburg Address (which he at first called the Emancipation Proclamation) the President told a Lincoln anecdote. He quoted Lincoln as having said after learning that he had contracted smallpox: "At last I have something I can give to everybody."

Later the press assembled with members of the White House press corps to hear Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, report on the meeting with the President. Wilkins said the President had been "courteous," had "listened and said he understood our position," and had "supported his own position." Pressed on whether the President had promised to seek legislative action, Wilkins said: "The President made no black-and-white statement on legislation." Asked if the President had offered any advice, he said Kennedy had suggested voting registration as an "area which would repay aciduous cultivation."

WILKINS' REPORT WAS a surprise to those reporters who had heard him score the Administration a few days earlier. It was a shock to those reporters who had heard the President unequivocally state his position against new legislation now.

It may not have been a surprise to long-time **NAACP members,** especially the New York delegation, already disenchanted by its failure to convince Wilkins that the "Freedom Train" would have greater impact if there could be a courteous, but emphatic "show of force"—a 1,000-man picket line in front of the White House.

On the ride back to Philadelphia I walked through most of the 22 cars on the special train polling delegates on their reactions to the trip. A Charlottesville, Va., man supported the New Yorkers who had wanted to picket. "Well," he drawled, "crowds do attract attention." Far up the train a man from Texas echoed the sentiment. A 16-year-old boy from North Carolina said of their interview with that state's Sen. Ervin: "What a mess. You know what he said about hiring Negroes in his office? He said: 'We'll cross that bridge when we come to it.'" Did he think the trip worthwhile? "We **know** him now," was the answer.

Commenting on the visit with the President, a woman delegate from South Carolina said with undisguised irony: "Why did he show you **Lincoln's** bed?"

Another woman said: "We don't want to see Lincoln's bed; we want to see our children in school in Mississippi."

As the train neared Philadelphia sleepy adults aroused themselves to watch a "Conga" line of youth go through the train, singing: "Freedom."

—Joanne Grant